

Message Text

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PAGE 01 CAIRO 06662 01 OF 02 061302Z

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4995

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 CAIRO 6662

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR EG US

SUBJECT: MESSAGES FOR FAHMY

REF: A. STATE 158835 AND B. STATE 158912

1. SUMMARY: CONVEYED ORAL MESSAGES TO FAHMY, WHO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION AND WILL PASS THEM TO SADAT. EITHER OPTION SET FORTH REFTEL B IS AGREEABLE. EGYPTIANS WOULD APPRECIATE A QUICK READING ON THE RESULTS OF POSSIBLE RABIN MEETING, WHICH FAHMY THOUGHT I MIGHT BRING THEM. IF POSSIBLE, IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE HAVE NEW DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT PRECEDE EUROPEAN SECURITY SUMMIT. THIS WOULD DAMPEN SOVIET, SYRIAN AND PALESTINIAN ATTACKS ON SUCH AN AGREEMENT. YOUR PROPOSED LINE WITH GROMYKO ON STATUS OF CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS IS FINE EXCEPT FOR POINT ON DURATION. HE PREFERS YOU SAY NOTHING TO GROMYKO ON THIS MATTER. RE GENEVA CONFERENCE, IF THERE IS NO CLEAR INDICATION BY JULY 20 THAT A NEW DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT POSSIBLE, SADAT WILL IMPLEMENT SCENARIO SET FORTH IN HIS RECENT LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD. HE WILL HAVE TO CALL FOR RECONVENING OF GENEVA AND WILL ANNOUNCE THIS IN JULY 23 SPEECH. FAHMY CONTENDED HE IS NOT SEEKING TO PRESSURE US, BUT SADAT MUST GIVE SOME EXPLANATION FOR LACK OF PROGRESS. UNEF WOULD NOT BE RENEWED, BUT SOME FORMULA WOULD BE FOUND TO KEEP FORCES IN PLACE. GOE HAS SAID NOTHING OF ITS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 CAIRO 06662 01 OF 02 061302Z

CONTINGENCY INTENTIONS TO SOVIETS OR ARABS AND HAS

CONSCIOUSLY AVOIDED PRESS LEAKS. SHOULD YOU BELIEVE PRESS LEAKS ON EGYPTIAN PLANS WOULD BE HELPFUL IN DEALING WITH ISRAELIS, GOE COULD ARRANGE THIS. END SUMMARY.

1. I MET WITH FAHMY FOR AN HOUR AND A HALF THIS MORNING. I FIRST CONVEYED TO HIM YOUR ORAL MESSAGE CONTAINED IN REFTEL A WITH THE REQUEST HE ALSO PASS IT TO THE PRESIDENT IN BORG AL-ARAB. DRAWING ON REFTEL B, I THEN TOLD HIM DECISION ON WHETHER OR NOT TO SEND SAUNDERS TO CAIRO WILL DEPEND ON INFORMATION YOU GET FROM THE ISRAELIS IN THE NEXT 48 HOURS AND WHETHER A QUICK ANSWER FROM THE EGYPTIANS WILL BE NEEDED PRIOR TO A POSSIBLE MEETING WITH RABIN LATER IN THE WEEK. THIS SHOULD BE KNOWN BY MONDAY NIGHT WASHINGTON TIME, I.E. TUESDAY MORNING CAIRO TIME. SHOULD SAUNDERS BE SENT, HE WOULD ARRIVE IN CAIRO BY WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON TO ENABLE HIM TO MEET YOU IN GENEVA OR BONN BY FRIDAY EVENING. ALTERNATIVELY, YOU MIGHT WANT ME TO MEET WITH YOU THURSDAY MORNING IN PARIS.

2. FAHMY INDICATED EITHER OPTION IS AGREEABLE TO HIM. IF SOME CLARIFICATIONS ARE NEEDED OF EGYPTIAN POSITION, SAUNDERS' VISIT MIGHT BE USEFUL. APART FROM THIS, ASSUMING THAT YOU WILL MEET WITH RABIN, HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF YOU SUMMON ME TO MEET WITH YOU AFTER THE RABIN MEETING TO ENABLE THE EGYPTIANS TO GET A QUICK READING ON THE RESULTS. FAHMY EXPECTS TO BE IN CAIRO FOR NEXT WEEK OR SO AND WILL BE AVAILABLE TO HEAR HOW YOU WANT TO PROCEED.

3. I THEN WENT THROUGH THE LINE YOU PROPOSE TO TAKE WITH GROMYKO ON THE STATUS OF CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS AND THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND ASKED IF FAHMY HAD ANY THOUGHTS ON SUBJECT. FAHMY HAD A NUMBER OF POINTS. FOCUSING FIRST ON YOUR COMMENT THAT YOU WOULD TELL GROMYKO THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO DISCUSS THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WITH BREZHNEV AT THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE TOWARD THE END OF JULY, HE ASKED IF IT IS NOW DEFINITE THAT SUCH A CONFERENCE WILL TAKE PLACE AT THAT TIME. I SAID I HAD NO DIRECT INFORMATION, BUT YOUR MESSAGE INDICATES YOU CLEARLY EXPECT THIS TO BE THE CASE.

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PAGE 03 CAIRO 06662 01 OF 02 061302Z

4. IT WOULD BE "TACTICALLY AND STRATEGICALLY" PREFERABLE, FAHMY OBSERVED, IF THERE IS ANY CHANCE THAT A NEW DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT WILL BE POSSIBLE, THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT BE FINALIZED BEFORE THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. THE SOVIETS, HE NOTED, GIVE PRIORITY TO SUCH A SUMMIT CONFERENCE. IF A DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED BEFORE THE CONFERENCE, IT WOULD

RESTRAIN SOCIET ATTACKS ON SUCH AN AGREEMENT.
THEY WILL BE CONCERNED THAT MASSIVE PUBLIC ATTACKS ON
IT COULD SOUR THE ATOMSPHERE IN THEIR DESIRED MEETING
WITH PRESIDENT FORD. A SPILL-OVER EFFECT OF SUCH
ENFORCED SOVIET RESTRAINT WOULD BE THAT THE SYRIANS
AND THE PALESTINIANS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE QUIET. THIS
WOULD BE THE CASE NOT BECAUSE THE SOVIETS WILL SO ADVISE
THEM, BUT SYRIAN AND PALESTINIAN READING OF THE SOVIET
REACTION WILL REQUIRE THEM TO BE RESTRAINED. CONVERSELY,
IF THE SOVIETS GET THEIR DESIRE OF A SUMMIT BEFORE A
DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT, THEY WILL BE FREE TO BLAST SUCH
AN AGREEMENT WHEN IT COMES. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, IF
THERE IS ANY CHANCE OF A DISENGATEMENT AGREEMENT IN JULY,
FAHMY THOUGHT CONSIDERATION OUGHT TO BE GIVEN TO POST-
PONING THE EUROPEAN SECURITY SUMMIT UNTIL MED-AUGUST OR
THE THIRD WEEK OF THAT MONTH. DOING SO WOULD ALSO HELP
GOE TO MANAGE THE ISLAMIC FONMINS MEETING SCHEDULED FOR
JIDDA LATER THIS MONTH AND THE AFRICAN SUMMIT
SCHEDULED FOR JULY. THE TEMPO OF THESE MEETINGS WOULD
THEN BE LOWER. IT IS GENERALLY RECONGNIZED, FAHMY
CONTINUED, THAT THE EUROPEAN SECURITY SUMMIT INVOLVES
PRIMARILY PRESIDENT FORD AND BREZHNEV. IF IT TAKES PLACE
BEFORE THE AFRICAN SUMMIT, THE AFRICANS WILL USE THAT
FORUM TO EXCORIATE THE SUPER POWERS ON ALL KINDS OF
ISSUES, SUCH AS RACISM, DISCRIMINATION, AFRICAN PROBLEMS,
ETC. I TOLD FAHMY I HAD NO IDEA WHETHER WHAT HE WAS
SUGGESTING WAS FEASIBLE, BUT I WOULD REPORT HIS VIEWS
TO YOU.

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PAGE 01 CAIRO 06662 02 OF 02 061319Z

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 CAIRO 6662

NODIS/CHEROKEE

5. ON YOUR PROPOSED LINE WITH GROMYKO, FAHMY THOUGHT THE GENERAL POINTS YOU PLAN TO MAKE ON THE STATUS OF CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS ARE FINE WITH ONE EXCEPTION. HE PREFERS THAT YOU SAY NOTHING, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, ABOUT DURATION. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE LEAKING INFORMATIC, ABOUT THIS, AND OTHER ASPECTS, BUT CLAIMED HE HAS CONSISTENTLY PARRIED ALL SOVIET EFFORTS TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT.

6. ON THE POINTS HAVING TO DO WITH THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, FAHMY OBSERVED THIS IS DIFFICULT FOR EGYPT. HE ASSERTED EVERYTHING PRESIDENT SADAT HAD STATED IN HIS RECENT LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD WILL BE IMPLEMENTED AS SET FORTH THEREIN. HE INSISTED THAT HE WAS NOT SAYING THIS TO PUT PRESSURE ON US. SADAT HAD WRITTEN HIS LETTER SO THAT USG WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED. SADAT MUST MAKE HIS ANNUAL POLICY SPEECH ON JULY 23, THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE REVOLUTION. IF WE TELL EGYPTIANS BEFORE JULY 20 THAT THERE IS NO HOPE FOR DISENGAGEMENT IN JULY, GOE BELIEVES IT HAS NO REAL ALTERNATIVE BUT TO CONTACT USG AND THE SOVIETS AND FORMALLY REQUEST RECONVENING OF GENEVA. THE PRESIDENT WOULD DECLARE THIS IN HIS JULY 23 SPEECH AND EXPLAIN WHY NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. GOE WILL ALSO NOT RENEW THE UNEF MANDATE, THOUGH IT WILL KEEP UN FORCES IN POSITION. HE HAD A FORMULA IN MIND ON HOW TO DO SO, BUT DID NOT REVEAL DETAILS. IN TELLING ME THIS, FAHMY STRESSED THAT
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PAGE 02 CAIRO 06662 02 OF 02 061319Z

EGYPTIANS HAD NEVER TOLD THE SOVIETS OR ANY OTHER ARAB COUNTRY, INCLUDING SYRIA, ABOUT WHAT THEY PROPOSE TO DO.

7. FAHMY OBSERVED THAT HE IS GETTING QUERIES FROM WALDHEIM AND FROM THE NEW FRENCH PRESIDENT OF THE UNSC ABOUT EGYPTIAN THINKING ON RECONVENING GENEVA. NO REPLIES HAVE BEEN SENT TO THESE QUERIES. THE DECISION, HE NOTED, WILL HAVE TO BE MADE BY THE PRESIDENT ON A LAST MINUTE BASIS.

8. FAHMY SUGGESTED, THEREFORE, THAT YOU NOT TIE YOUR HANDS BY TELLING GROMYKO THAT THERE IS NO HOPE FOR GENEVA BEFORE AUTUMN OR ANY OTHER DATE. I REMINDED HIM THAT YOU PROPOSED TO TELL GROMYKO THAT YOU SEE NO WAY TO DISCUSS TIMING OR ANY OTHER DETAILS IN A CONCRETE WAY AT THIS TIME, BUT THAT THESE MIGHT BE DISCUSSED BY PRESIDENT FORD AND BREZHNEV WHEN THEY MEET LATER IN THE MONTH. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT THE LINE YOU PROPOSE TO TAKE IS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE EGYPTIAN POSITION. AFTER THINKING ABOUT IT A BIT MORE,

HE AGREED, BUT REITERATED THAT IN ABSENCE OF EARLY PROGRESS ON THE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT, SADAT WILL HAVE TO CALL FOR RECONVENING OF GENEVA AND ANNOUNCE THIS IN JULY 23 SPEECH. FAHMY ALLUDED TO THE FACT THAT GOE HAS ALSO BEEN CAREFUL TO AVOID ANY PRESS LEAKS AS TO ITS PLANS. THE THOUGHT OCCURRED TO HIM, HOWEVER, THAT IF YOU THINK PRESS LEAKAGE MIGHT BE HELPFUL TO YOU IN DEALING WITH THE ISRAELIS, GOE WOULD BE READY TO ARRANGE THIS. SUCH PRESS LEAKS, HE BELIEVES, MIGHT ALSO RESULT IN EUROPEAN PRESSURE ON THE ISRAELIS TO BE RESPONSIVE.

9. FINALLY, FAHMY ASSURED ME THAT YOUR ORAL MESSAGES WILL BE CONVEYED TO PRESIDENT SADAT AT ONCE. HE SPECIFICALLY ASKED THAT I CONVEY HIS APPRECIATION FOR YOUR UNTIRING EFFORTS AND CONSULTATIONS AND THAT HE LOOKS FORWARD TO HEARING MORE FROM YOU AS YOUR EXPLORATIONS EVOLVE.

10. I AM HOLDING MYSELF AVAILABLE TO MEET YOU IN PARIS OR ANYWHERE YOU WISH. SAUNDERS IS, OF COURSE, VERY

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PAGE 03 CAIRO 06662 02 OF 02 061319Z

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